BIHAR IN THE TIME OF AURANGZEB.

By KHAN SAHIB SYED HASAN ASKARI, M. A., B. L.

In the previous issue of the present Journal an attempt was made to trace the course of events that happened in Bihar up to the end of the regime of Daud Khan Quraishi, the first of the thirteen[1] Governors of Bihar, during the reign of Aurangzeb. Daud Khan's successor in Bihar was Yadgar Beg who got the title of Jannesar Khan and later of Lashkar[2] Khan by which he is generally known. He was the son of Zaberdast Khan and had served as an envoy in Persia and held the offices of Mir Tuzuk and Mir Bukshi of Dara Shikoh and also of the Governorship of Kashmir, Multan, and Thatta before he was despatched from the court to Bihar as its Governor, on the 6th[3] Shaaban, 1075, or 13th February, 1665. We do not know about the makeshift arrangement for the government of this province during the interval of a few months that elapsed between the departure of Daud Khan from, and arrival of Lashkar Khan at, Patna. Lashkar Khan continued to rule over Bihar till the 11th year of the reign *i. e.* Ramzan,[4] 1078, or February 1668. The official historian says little about these three years except that on 27th Safar[5], 1077, or 22 August 1666, Mankali[6] Khan, the Faujdar of Palamun was transferred from there

1 The Akhbārāts and other evidences enabled the present writer to establish that Bihar had two other Governors, not mentioned by the authorities whose works have been generally relied upon by the modern historians. One was Safi Khan, son of Islam Khan Mashhadi, who succeeded Saif Khan in the year 24th and continued to govern Bihar till the 26th year of the reign, while the other was Mukhtar Khan who filled the gap of about a year and half that elapsed between the transfer of Buzurg Ummed Khan and the appointment of Fidai Khan in the year 38th of the reign.

2 Life in M. U. He died as a Panjhazari in Ramzan, 1081 (T. M.) His father had died in 1032 (A. H.)

3 A. N.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.* Mankali Khan had been promoted to 1,500, 1,000 and given a robe of honour and was appointed Faujdar of Saran on 20th Jamadi I, 1069 or 4th Janu y

and Palamun was placed in direct charge of the Subedar of Bihar; that the latter received a robe of honour and an increase in his rank to 4,000, 4,000, with 2,000 Sawar Do Aspa, Seh Aspa; and that Marhamat[1] Khan was appointed Faujdar of Arrah in place of Sadaat[2] Khan who was transferred to Gorakhpur on 3rd Rabi I, 1077, or 1st Sep. 1666 and was promoted to the rank of 2,000,900. But the European travellers, Tavernier and Bernier, who visited Patna at the end of the 1st year of Lashkar Khan's rule in Bihar, furnish us with many valuable information about the administrative divisions, revenue of the province, ts capital, its Governor, and some of the manners and customs of the people.

"Patna or Beara", says Bernier who alone gives the name of "Lashkar Ken[3]" as Governor of Patna, "has 8 Sarkars and 245 parganas yeilding 95 lacs 80 thousands rupees." Tavernier describes the Governor as "a Venerable man, now 80 years old, who commanded 5,000 6,000". Tavernier describes Patna as "one of the largest town[4] in India not less than 2 Kos in length, the houses being nearly all roofed with thatch and bamboos and not being better than the majority of the towns in India." "The Dutch Co" he continues, "has an establishment[5] there on account of their trade in salt-petre which they refine at a large village called Chapra[6] 10 Kos above". He remained 8 days in Patna (arriving with Bernier) and he writes about the Eclipse of the Sun that was visible on 2nd July, 1666, which (drew a large number of people from far and near to have their bath in the sacred river of the Ganges). Tavernier once purchased at Patna 7,633 Musk deer weighing 2,577½ oz. and he got from it 432 oz. of

1659. He was succeeded by Mir Raziuddin who got a Mansab of 1,500. 800 on 10th Zilhij, 1174 or 25th January 1664.

1 A. N.

2 Sadaat Khan had beep appointed Faujdar of Shahabad on 19th Rabi I, 1075 or 13th December 1664.

3 Travels of Bernier.

4 It is interesting to compare this description with those given by Abdul Latif (JBORS) Peter Mundy, R. Fitche Thevenot Part II page 68, De Graffe's Voyages 62, Bowery 227.

5 Perhaps this is represen ted by the main building of the present Patna College which was built by the Dutch. There was another site of the Dutch establishment in Meetan Ghat (Patna City) which was called Pushta Valandez. The Stone slab with an inscription dated 1752 went into the river in the Earthquake of 1934.

6 Now a big town and the headquarter station of the Saran District,

pure Musk. He also tells us an interesting story of a certain Brahmin Sadhu who extorted 20,000 Rs. and 27 cubits of cloth from the at first reluctant citizens of Patna by climbing up a tree and remaining there without eating and drinking for 30 days and watched continuously by about a 100 men. The French traveller[1] testifies to the genuineness of the fast for he himself took pains to ascertain the truth and ascribes it to " the work of the devil ". Another incident recorded by him which throws some light on the accessibility of the ruler of the land and of the pressure of public opinion on him is about a " young boy " who had been " disgraced " by his master, a Mingbashi (or a Turkish Commander of 1,000) whom he killed by taking him unawares on the occasion of an hunting excursion. The boy boldly ran to the Governor's house and made a clean breast of everything. The Governor put him in prison but had to set him at liberty after 6 months for, we are told, " although[2] the relative of the defunct did what they could to procure his execution, the Governor did not dare to condemn him as he feared the people who protested that the young man had acted rightly ".

When Lashkar Khan was transferred to Multan, Ibrahim Khan " the most upright[3] of the sons of celebrated Ali Mardan Khan " was appointed in his place as Governor of Bihar. He had already held charge of such important provinces as Kashmir and Lahore and was a Mansubdar of 5,000, 5,000. He had a longer tenure of office in

1 Travels of M. T.

2 *Ibid.* Tavernier has noted also " a strange occurrence which happened one day before my presence at Patna. I was with the Dutch at the house of the Governor of the town.. .....when a young and very beautiful woman Scarcely more than 22 entered the reception room (and) with a firm and resolute Voice required the Governor's permission to burn herself with the body of her deceased husband..They sought (invain) to turn her from her resolution. She protested " I do not fear fire any way and. to make you sure it is so you have only to order a well lighted torch to be brought here." The governor was horrified, but some of his young nobles " forced him to test the woman." " As soon as she saw the torch she ran in front of it, held her hand firmly to the flame without the least grimace and pushed her arm up to the elbow till it was immediately scorched. This caused horror to all who witnessed the deed and the Governor commanded the woman to be taken away from his presence ". Vol. II 171.

3 Life in M. U. He died in Kashmir at the end of Safar or the beginning of Rabi 1, 1111, Aug. 1699.

Bihar than his predecessors, *i. e.* from Ramzan[1] 1078 or February 1668 to the year 18, which began in Ramzan, 1085 or Nov. 1673. In the 2nd year of his regime in Bihar the Emperor being informed by Masoom Khan, son of Shahnawaz Khan, (who served as the Foujdar of Sarkar of Tirhut from Jamadi II, 1074, or December,[2] 1663, to Ramzan, 1080, or January, 1670,) on the 10th Zilhijja, 1079, or 2nd May, 1669, that a pretender impersonating[3] Shah Shuja had appeared in the vicinity of Morang[4] (west of Koch Bihar and north of Purnea) and caused much commotion in the neighbourhood, issued orders both to Ibrahim Khan, the Governor of Bihar, and Fedai Khan, the Faujdar of Gorakhpur, to cut off the head of the man if he raised any disturbance there. The most important thing, however, that happened in Bihar during the reign of Ibrahim Khan was the devastating famine which, according to John Marshal, who lived in this province from April 1670 to April[5] 1672, swept over the whole country "from 3 or 4 days[6] journey beyond Benares to Rajmahal ". Besides Marshall, the Dutch traveller, De

1 M. A. The English Factory records tells us of what appears to have been a rumour about Ibrahim Khan being replaced by Safi Khan of Orissa in 1673 " In March 1673 ' advices were received at Hoogly from Cateck that Nabab Zeffi Khan is come to Pattana in place of Ibrahim Khan " T. B.

2 M. A. 18th year. From Akhbarat we learn that the request of Masoom Khan, the Faujdar of Tirhut and Darbhanga, for transfer, on account of the climate of the place being unsuited to his health, was accepted and Hadi Khan, the Faujdar of Shadipur, was sent to Tirhut and Darbhanga, and at about the same time, on 28th January, 1670, Askar Khan was appointed Faujdar of Arrah. and got an increase of 700 to his 1500 Zat and 500 Sawar.

3 For the rise, at a later stage, of a pretender impersonating the son of Shah Shuja, See Stewart's Bengal.

4 It seems that the hilly country of Morang or the Tarai District below the Himaliyas was a source of frequent trouble, to the Mughals Mirza Abul Maali, known also as Mirza Khan, the Faujdar of Tirhut and Darbhanga, (from the 31st of Shah Jahan to the 6th year of Aurangzeb's reign) had been deputed to co-operate with Allahwardi Khan, the Faujdar of Gorakhpur in chastising the Zamindar of Morang. Though he died in that reign, in Jamadi 1074, or Dec. 1663, his colleague appears to have succeeded in the task, for we find him presenting to the Emperor 10 elephants which he had captured from the Zamindar of Morang. The effective conquest of Morang, however. took place at the hands of Shaista Khan, the Governor of Bengal, in the year following the departure of Lashkar Khan from Bihar.

5 J. M. Introduction pp. 10,19.

6 *Ibid* 150.

Graffie[1] who journeyed from Monghyr to Patna in November, 1670, at the time of scarcity, and Thomas Bowrey, who arrived in India in 1669 and was living at Balasore[2] in 1674, give a graphic picture of the horrible scenes they saw or heard of at Patna and elsewhere in the neighbourhood.

The kind-hearted Englishman, J. Marshall, got the first evidence of the Famine on the 20th May at Dumra, west of Jaintpur, in Monghyr, where he saw "great[3] number of dead corpses" in the Ganges and on its shores and on the following day he was begged to purchase a Muslim lad for half a rupee. On reaching Patna on the 23rd May he learnt that the death rate for the 1st four or five months had been 100 per day. He writes further "about 23rd July there died about 250 or 300 persons daily of famine in and about the City of Pattana, Rice being 5 r 5 an per md. best sort". The figures of the continual rise in the prices of rice and other food stuffs which he has carefully noted give us an idea of the sufferings entailed on all but the wealthiest inhabitants. We are told that coarse rice and goat-flesh sold at the respective rates of 2 and a half R. per md. and 2 R. in May 1671 while the rates were 8 seer per rupee and 12 seer in September 1671. Fine[4] rice, Barley, Beef, Butter or Ghee, and Oil at the end of May 1671 were sold at the respective rates of 4 R., 2 R., $1\frac{1}{3}$ R., $7\frac{1}{2}$ R., 7 R., per Md. which consisted of 8 Lbs. English. In August, rice was 7 seer per rupee, the best sort being sold at the rate of 5-11-0 per Md. The rate of wheat was $2\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee per Md. in May and 4 R., per Md. in August.

Thomas Bowrey observes as follows. "Notwithstanding Pattana be so fertile to afford grain to such a plentifull country as Bengal, yet in the year of our Lord, 1670, they had as great scarcities, in so much that one Pattana seare weight of rice (the plentifullest grains in the country) was sold for 1 rupee the seer containing only 27 ounces,[5] and in a few months there was none at all to be had at that rate, in so much so that many thousands of the natives perished on

1 *Ibid.* 155. Also the Countries round the Bay of Bengal by Thomas Bowrey.
2 T. B.
3 J. M.
4 *Ibid* VI. also T. B. n.
5 T. B.

the streets and open fields for want of food, and many were glad to sell their children for a handful of rice ". According[1] to De Graffe " Rice sold half a rix dollar for six sers or 9 Lb. Dutch weight while in ordinary years 60 or 70 more Lbs could be brought for the same amount ". Marshall says that " a great[2] number of slaves could be bought for 4 annas and 8 annas per peace and good ones one rupee per peace ". The Dutch Traveller remarks ". We saw nothing but poverty and misery of the country folk. Scarcity and famine were greater than had ever been known within the memory of men. The cause was the failure of the rice crops and the inundation of the Ganges..................the people died in heaps and their corpses remained extended on the road, streets, market places, and upon sands besides the river, since there was no one to bury them or even throw them into the river. The corpses were devoured by wild horses (?) tigers (?), wolves (?) and dogs. We even saw poor wretches who had still in their mouths grass, leather and such like filths. They died in flocks. A woman ate her own child. Slaves could be bought for next to nothing ".

" Strangely enough " comments Dr. S. A. Khan "no wide spread pestilence appears to have followed in the wake of the dearth nor do the Europeans appear to have fallen victim to its effects ". The huge total of " one lac three (3) thousands (viz) 50,000 Muslamans, 53,000 Hindus " which Marshall and his associate, valentine Nurse, claimed to have obtained on the 11th December, 1671, of those who were the victims of the dearth in the past 354 days have also been taken by this critic to be far from truth. Marshall writes " Since the beginning of October there have died of famine in Pattana and the suburb about 20,000 persons, and there cannot in that time have gone[5] fewer from the city than 150,000 persons". Elsewhere he gives the figures of 90,720 and 135,400 of those who

1 J. M, 155, T. B.

2 *Ibid*, 50.

3 Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the Editor.

4 J. M. 152,

5 *Ibid*, A Valuable document bearing the Seal of Safi Khan Alamgir Shahi, discovered by the present writer, tells us that the grantees of certain Madad-i-Maash Jaruha, Hajipur, had migrated to Jahangirnagar (Dacca) during the governorship Ibrahim Khan on account of famine,

died during the 14th months ending 6th November 1671. As regards the disposal of the dead bodies though the remarks of the European travellers may be accepted as generally applicable, specially to the country side, they can not be taken as wholly true in the case of the city of Patna. Marshall himself says that " most persons[1] of quality hire Halalkhore (Sweepers) to carry them into the middle of the river with string and carried them on to the middle of the river and then cut the string and so let them drive down with the stream ". Elsewhere he writers " the Kotwall causeth all the dead corpses to be cast into the Ganges every morning " In regard to the Muslims of Patna, Marshall says that the Nawab " Ibrahim[2] Khan gave 15644 dead bodies cloth to cover them when buried." Of course he refers to 18144 " who had no friend to bury them ".

The English traveller ascribes the sufferings of the people in some measure, to the Nawab and T. Bowrey blames his " Chief wife ". Marshall says " through the Nawabs[3] roguery, here (Patna) is a famine and also from the dryness of the last years. T. Bowery is more explicit in his charge against the Nawab's wife who was the daughter of Mirza[4] Yehya, son of Saif Khan Qazvini. " And yett at that time, the Nabob's Chief wife had several very large store houses full of grains, and would not dispose of any unless they would give the weight of silver in one scale of its weight of rice or wheat or the other. But it pleased God to frustrate her coveteous designs and sent them as great plenty as ever they had ". The Editor, Sir. R. Temple, remarks on this " I have been unable to find any allusion to the action of the " Nabab's Chief wife as related by T. B.[5] Vague unspecified charges of the gossipy and credulous European travellers of the 17th Centuary against Mughal rulers, nobles, and their[6] females have to be taken with a grain of salt. There is no evidence what so ever that T. Bowery saw personally the things he has recorded at Patna. The well-known antipathy of the

1 J. M. 151,
2 *Ibid.* 152,
3 *Ibid.* 150,
4 T. M. (Tarikh-i- Muhammadi)
5 T. B.
6 E. G. the absurd stories and atrocious allegations against Shahjehan, h nobles, and their females in the works of Manucci, Bernier etc.

European merchants to the provincial rulers for their inability to concede all that they claimed and also because of the exactions and the misbehaviour of their undoubtedly corrupt subordinates must also be taken into account before passing any judgment on the matter. In his account of Patna, Streynsham Master says that the English had built their Factory at Singhia, 10 or 12 miles North of the Ganges " by reason of Nabob's [1] palace is in the city and his servants and officers are constantly craving one thing or another which...... ...... if not given they create trouble and if given what they desire will be chargeable". Moreover, if Marshall's version of a certian action of the Governor is to be believed he had reasons to feel prejudiced against him. Says he " about 7th September [2] 1670 when Mamid Arif, the English Vakeel was about to get the English boats cleared which had been stopped by the Governor about 23 days, he desired Mahmid Hussain, (one of Ibrahim Chans Mulvi Assistant) and desired him to do us that courtesie he said " are the English of my relion (religion) or are they Mussalmans ? They are neither, nor are they either , friends to God. nor man , so that should I do them any courtesie, God would be displeased with me and men would not praise me " In this connection a letter of Walter Clavell sent from Hoogli to Surat on 19th January 1673 in which there is a long rehearsal of the troubles and interference with the petre trade caused by the " conduct of the Nabob of Pattana " will bear quotation Till his coming business went on very well in Singhia and there about, in the direction of Petre investments, but since that time he being a bookish Namzee [3] , his officers having taken advantage of their Master's supiness in his other affairs have almost runied Pattana " It appears that the trouble was mostly due to the activities of the masterful Dewan of Patna , Waris Khan , to whom Shaesta Khan addressed his Parwana in [4] 1672 and for whose removal and that of the Daroga Job Charnock advised the despatch of a Vakeel to " Dilli" It is significant that the bookish Namazi against whom Marshall complains became so friendly to the English as to invite them to

1 Diary of S. M. quoted in J. M. 23.
2 J. M., 83.
3 T. B.
4 Diary of Streynsham Master, T. B.

Bengal in 1690 and restore their Factories and privileges of trade. He was praised as "the most famously just and good Nabob"[1] Even with regard to his attitude towards them during his governorship of Bihar, perhaps the English realised soon afterwards that the Nawab was not very much to blame. A Madras letter dated February, 1689, gives a different account of him and refers to his " courtesies and civil[2] usage and his good intentions to the English, he having been an old friend to your affairs at Patna ".

The English, particularly J. Marshall, have supplied us with many valuable information on a variety of subjects. Having set out from Hoogly on 8th March, 1670, in a Bajra[3] manned by 14 oars men and 2 steersmen Marshall reached Raj Mahal on the 8th April and from there it took him a week to arrive at Monghyr. At Bhagalpur which he describes as a " great town of thatch house and a place of bows and arrows and also neat hubble-bubble he noted that 26 copper coins or paisa were valued at one rupee though Hobson Jobson gives the value of pices or paisa as[4] 80 to the rupee in 1673. This means that the copper coin in the neighbourhood of Patna, in the time of Marshall was worth more than elsewhere. At Monghyr Marshall inspected Shah Shuja's palace built on the west side of the Fort and he describes it "as a very large house where the King (Shuja) lived, walled next to the river, for about 1½[5] course (Kos) with bricks and stones with a wall about 15 yards high." He entered the 1st gate but was stopped at the other within which he saw "2 elephants carved in stones and very large and handsomely ". He inspected the palace more closely during a 2nd visit in the following year for he was not suffered to go within on the first occasion. This was due to the recent misadventure[6] of two Dutchmen, De Graafe and Oosterhoff, who paid the penalty of their antiquarian interest by being taken

1 T. B; Hedges Diaries.

2 *Ibid.* notes.

3 J. M. " A Kind of large boat, fairly Clean the Centre of which forms a little room" As regards Pateela or large flat bottomed boats and other Varieties, see their descriptions in T. B.

4 J. M., 121, 133.

5 J. M. 123, 134 or De graafe also saw the large Stone elephants with a figure of man on each of them but no trace of these is to be found now.

6 J. M. 18, 33; De graafe voyages.

as Spies. They were imprisoned for making a plan of the palace and noting details regarding fortification. They were released after 7 weeks in November 1670 by paying to the Nawab of Patna, as he says , a fine of one thousand rupees. Marshall found, at the North end of the town and also of the palace ", a great garden [1] " and at the south end of the town he saw " several Thatcht houses and several toomes and Muskets" (Tombs and Mosques). " The town he says, " stands [2] upon an ascent, the river bank by it being 8 or 10 yards high. The brick wall by the river side " at the south end of Monghyr was about 5 yards high and 20 long with a little tower at each end which wall is a fortification to put guns in it".

When nearing Patna he passd through " Footooa, a long town of little house at least ½ course long " with 2 stone bridges, and he locates the historic " Jaffar [3] Cawn's garden " at the north end of Sabalpur " which belongs to Patna ". " The garden" he says, " hath turrets [4] at each end, north and south, and in the middle a little white house with a balcony towards the river and is wālled with bricks and stones ". The " Nabob, [5] House (built by Shaista Khan, a former Governor of Patna) was situated at a distance of 1½ Kos from this garden. He then refers to certain places in North Bihar, particularly to Hajipur[6], which he describes as "a great town situated on the Ganges and the Gandak". An interesting passage is well worth quoting " Bet wixt Ganges and Gandak, viz between west and north where the rivers meet at the corner is a green piece of low ground, which at the height of the

1 No. longsr traceable.

2 J. M. 76.

3 Built either by Asaf Khan Jafar Beg, the last of Akbar's governor of Bihar, or by umdatul mulk Mirza Jafar Khan who served as a governor of Bihar during the years 1061-64 and oqm later rose to be the chief minister of Shah Jahan.

4 Neither the turret nor the white house can be seen now.

5 This must have been situated in what was once the most flourishing quarter of the old city, then called Kaiwan Shikoh, now corrupted into Kawwakhoh.

6 So called because it was founded, according to Frishta, by Shamsuddin Haji Ilyas, a powerful ruler of Bengal, who extended his conquests upto Benares, and crossed words with the emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak of Delhi. Compare Peter Mundy's description and note the decline of the old toun marked by him. Before the great famine there were, according to J. M. 4000 houses inhabited in Hodgepur but now 1800 inhabited and out of them many have died T. B. notes.

rivers is overflown, after which the Hindus come thither from the remotest parts of India to wash themselves in that place where the rivers meet which they esteem holy so that there are many thousands come thither at one time. There is also there a garden, called Sa Sujas (Shah Shuja) garden, which is very high, and by reason of its situation, and having such prospects I esteem it the pleasantest place I have seen in India". Elesewhere he refers again to the bathing festival " at Hajipur on the 6th of November (when the moon was near the full in the morning and about 40 or 50 thousand persons resorting to wash their bodies, some coming heither out of Tartari (Central Asia) some from places very remote, some time some of the Rajas at Nepal and other places coming heither disguised " Obviously Marshall refers here to the famous Hari Har Chhater fair of Sonepur still held every year in Kartik. The garden of Shah Shuja must have been situated in or near Sonepur for, he continues " opposite to this garden on the other side of the river (Gandak) is Hajipur which is an ancient and ruined town, but hath been a famous place and the seat of Kings. At Hajipur the Company hath a house for which pay three and half rupees per month."

We get an interesting information about a certain Ram Nath Brahmin, a magician and a strologer at "Modafferpore [1] near Mossee (Mehsi in Champaran)." Marshall speaks of grapes which he ate at Singhee (near Lalganj) and" which grew in Hajipur. The enterprising Englishman also paid a visit to the walled town of Bakhra[2] which was not great but well situated amongst pleasant garden etc. , and where he says " lives one great moor (Muslim) who belongs to the Nabab of Patna. " " He hath," Marshall continues " several brick houses all enclosed with a dirt wall , dented at their tip". He describes at length also the " brimka Lathee or Bhim's Club, obviously the famous lion pillar of Ashoka,

1 If it can be Identified with the present head quarter of the district bearing the same name. The generally accepted theory that Muzaffarpur is named after Muzaffar Khan. an Amil or revenue agent of the E. I, Co. in the 18th Century falls to the ground. See the Gazater of Muzafferpur.

2 J. M. A well known village in Hajipur subdivision now owned and inhabited by a family of Kaysthas whose ancestors held the office of the Kanungos under the Mughal, The present writer has seen and translated many of the imperial farmans of the Mughals still in possession of the said family of the Kāyasthas.

still extant at Kolhua Basarh. He found in a pleasant grove close by the pillar a Fakeer living in a house the entrance into which was like "an oven being so little that I was forced to creep to get into it and when within I could stand upright in it, it being within built like the roof of an oven and something steeping. In it was a Faker man." Two miles from the pillar he found the tomb of Mirza Sayd Mamood Abdul. Marshall mentions several other places and makes other interesting observations but we must leave him and resume the history of the successive governors of Bihar.

Among the immediate successors of Ibrahim Khan the auther of Maasir mentions the names of Mir or Amir Khan and of Tarbiat Khan Barlas, the former being replaced by the latter on the 9th Ramzan year 19 (1086) or 18th November 1675. Mir Miran[1], son of Khalilullah Khan yezdi and Hamida Banu Begum, the daughter of Saif Khan, an ex-Governor of Bihar, and the husband of the sister of the celebrated lady of the Taj, had already served in various capacitfes such as the Faujdar of Janmu, military officer in Usufzai territories, Superindentent of the Mansubdar, and the Subedar of Allahabad and Malwa[2], before he got the title of Amir Khan and an increase in his rank of 4000,3000, Do Aspa and was appointed Governor of Bihar in the 18th year of Aurangzeb's reign. The Historian Md.[3] Sadique mentions Amir Khan as one of his four uncles. In fact the new Governor of Bihar was very respectably connected but the only important thing that the author of Maasir has chosen to record about his brief regime of less than a year in Bihar is the success in suppression of the refractory Afghan Chiefs, Alam and Ismail and others of Shajahanpur and Kant Gola, places taken by Sir. J. N. Sarkar[4] to be in Bihar. Though there is a place

1 Life in M.U. 4 He died 56 years old in Kabul on 27 shawwall, 1109 and was then a Mausabader of 7000 (T. M.)

2 Amir Khan replaced Wazir Khan Muhammed Tahir as the Subedar of Malwa on 26th Jamadi II 1083 or 10th September 1672. He refused the offer of Foujdari of Iraj and consequencly lost the Mansab in Moharram 1085 or March 1674 (M. U.) Perhaps he was soon restored to his former Mansab and appointed Governor of Bihar in succession to Ibrahim Khan.

3 Author of Subhe Sadiq.

4 Sarkar's A. The great historian refers also to Athmal Gola 28 miles east of Patna and to Katganj shown in Rennel's map but these cannot be taken to be identical with Kantgola. J. Marshal passed through Sumbarka Gola, now known as

river lled Shajehanpur near Bihar, 16 miles from Patna, yet we find no race on the map of any place called Kantgola. On the other hand, we find Shajahanpur at a distance of 50 Kos from Lucknow and also Kantgola at some distance from it in the District of Moradabad. Badauni[1] refers to Kantgola as a dependency of Sambal and Abul Fazal[2] also mentio as there The places were and are still inhabited by Patha ah Sh Most probably the date of Ramzan, 1086, given by the historian, Mustaid Khan[3] Saqi. as that on which Amir Khan" came from Bihar to the court is not correct and Amir Khan must have been in Shajehanpur and Kantgola in U. P. having been deputed to assist Namdar[4] Khan, the successor of Sadaat Khan in the government of Awadh and it was from there that he sent an Arzdasht, according to the historian, to the effect that the imperial army had captured the above mentioned Afghans in the Fort where they had taken refuge and that they were being despatched to the court with Ibrahim Khan who was on his way from Bengal ? Fortunatly, the present writer has recently dicovered a number of valuable[5] documents one of which is a Sanad, dated 17th Shawwal 1086, and containing the Seal of Amir Khan Muride Alamgir Shah, renewing the grants of 50 Bighas, of land in Saadullahpur Satan in Pargana Haweli, Hajipur Sarkar (Bihar), to Sheikh Bayazid, the keeper of the Mausoleum[6] of

Athmal Gola and tells us that it was 1½ course (Kos) from Rani Sarai. It is situated just to the south of the river Ganges, not far from Barh. But it can not be identified with Kant Gola which and Shahjahanpur are, according to Blochman, Beveredge, and Elliot, in Rohilkhand. A. N. II 636. B 373 E V 498 supp. Gloss 109.

1 M. T.

2 A. N.

3 M. A.

4 *Ibid.* Instances are not wanting of such a deputation of the Governor of Bihar outside the province for suppressing the rebellions Rajahs and Chiefs. Abdullah K. Firoz Jung had often to march outside Bihar to suppress powerful rebels in Ramtanbhor and in the Bundella territories and then return to his province during the time of Shahjahan.

5 They are in possession of Shaikh Nasiruddin Saheb of Jaruha.

6 It was a beautiful and well-preserved building when the writer first saw it in 1912 but the Earth-quake of 1934 has left it in a badly damaged and dilapidated condition. When the writer visited it in the last month (February) a basalt stone slab of the adjoining roofless mosque containing an inscription which says that it was built by Haji Chand Shaista Khani in 1071 (1660) was discovered among the heaps. But the mausoleum is said to have been erected in the time and at the instance of Raja

Manmoon Bhanja at Jaruha, Hajipur. The date of this document is one month and 8 days later than 9th Ramzan when Amir Khan is perhaps wrongly said to have arrived at court and been replaced in the government of Bihar by Tarbiat Khan.

Shafiullah[1] Barlas, better known as Tarbiat Khan, was a Mansab-dar of 4000,3000, and he had already served in Kabul and Bulkh, and as an envoy to Iran, and had held charge of Oudh and Orissa before he was sent to Bihar in the 19th year of the reign. He should not be confused with Fakhruddin Ahmad[2] Bakshi who came to India from Turan in the reign of Jahanger and had been given the title of Tarbiat Khan. Nothing is known about the brief period of a year and a few months when the administration of Bihar was vested in Shafiullah or Tarbiat Khan. He was sent on the 19th Safar[3] 1088 or 14th April, 1677, as the Faujdar or Military Commander of Tirhut and Darbhanga in place of Hadi Khan, and prince Azam, the 3rd son of the Emperor, was appointed Governor of Bihar. The prince was granted 5 crore Dams by way of Inam. He actually arrived at Patna on the 14th[4] Jamadi II, 1088 or 24th July 1677. His tenure of office in Bihar was also very brief for he was soon transferred to Bengal to hold charge of that province in place of Azam Khan[5] Koka, formerly known as Fedai Khan. Azam Khan had been appointed to Bengal in place of Shaista Khan in the beginning of 1088 or 8th October 1677, but he had hardly been in the province for a year when he was ordered to vacate it in favour of prince Azam The English records dated December 1677 say " Auzum Cawne[6]. formerly Phuddy Cawne, the new Suba of Bengal arrived at Hoogly". " In February 1678", says another note, " Shaista Cawne arrived at Patna and visited the prince and departed next day for Delhi ".

Shiv Singh of Tirhut in pre Mughal days. The descendants of the original custodian claim to have had in their possessions farmans and sanads from the time of Firoz Shah Tughlak to Shah Alam II and Raja Shitab Rai, Naib Nazim of Bihar, in the 18th century.

1 Life in M. U. He died on 27th Shaaban, 1096, as the Faujdar of Jaunpur. But the author of T. M gives 1098 as the year of his death.

2 Life in M. U.

3 M. A.

4 *Ibid*,

5 Life in M. U.

6 Factory Records, of Hugli quoted in T. B. 148-9.

...rsian
...holar-admin...
...n which have com...

On June 26, the factors of Hoogly wrote to Balasore confirming the fact about "the prince having the Government of Bengal bestowed on him and of his entrance into Rajmahal," "We have advised that he is proceeded thence to Dacca" Azam Khan was on his way to Bihar when he died at Dacca, on 12th[1] Rabi II, 1082, or 25th May 1678.

The place of Prince Azam in Bihar was taken by Saifuddin Mahmood alias Mirza Faqirullah and entitled Saif[2] Khan. The new Governor was the 2nd son of Tarbiat Khan, formerly known as Fakhruddin Ahmad Bakshi, who had died in[3] 1052 A. H. 1642. He had deserted and faught against Dara, escorted the latter's son Sepah Shikoh, to Gawaliar, and had been favoured with ranks or Mansubs and the subedari's of Agra, Kashmir, and Multan before he was sent to Bihar in the 21st year of the reign or May 1678. The duration of his rule in Bihar has been wrongly taken by the authorities, old and modern, native and foreigners, to have been longer than what it actualy was. Most of the Persian authorities have taken it to have extended up to the 26th year of the reign. The 19th[4] Rabi I, 1094, or 11th March 1673, is the date given by the author of Maasir when " Saif Khan came from Bihar to the Court."—Of course elsewhere[5] the same historian mentions Saif Khan as the Subedar of Allahabad who died there on 25th Ramzan, year 28 the or 27th August 1684. Kamwar Khan and Shahnawaz Khan blindly follow Mustaid Khan Saqi. As regards Stewart he has gone to the absurd length when he says that " Syf Khan" was the Governor of Bihar in 1095 or 1684. Even the English date, 1682, given by him is incorrect. Referring to a letter of Job Charnoc, dated 9th December 1686, that " Seef Cawne plundered out of Factories at Patna by 1000, Foot and 500 horse , putting Mr. Meverelle in Irons", Mr. Ray tells us that " the Patna Factory had been plundered[6] and Mr. Meverelle put in irons by Saif Cawne in 1684". Even Sir. J. N. Sarkar places the rebellion of Ganga Ram Nagar in March

1 M. A.
2 Life in M. U.
3 T. M.
...on. A., T. S. ch. M. U.
...the adjoin...
by Haji Chand...
the mausoleum is ...
...als of English in Bihar.

1681 in the time of Saif Khan and says that "the weak and miserly Governor[1] of Bihar, Saif Khan, was dismissed by the Emperor for his cowardly and incompetent handling of the situation". Unfortnately The greatest living Indian Historian, it has to be respectfully submitted, did not consider it worthwhile to go into details and mention in his monumental history of Aurangzeb the actual date of the dismissal of the Governor of Bihar or the source from which he derived the information aboutSaif Khan being punished by the Emperor. Of course he refers toStewart who is not always reliable. Stewert has relied upon Orme's, Historical Fragments where the present writer finds no mention of Ganga Ram's rebellion, and perhaps also upon English Factory records of Singhia, in north Bihar, "the chief of which, Mr. Peacock; is said to[2] have been" imprisoned by Saif Khan, the Nawab of Patna on suspicion of being in league with rebels". But these and Bruce's Annals are not available easily to check his statement. The fact is that most of the writers have confused Saif Khan with his successor, Safi Khan, son of Islam Khan Mashadi.

The evidences furnished by the Akhbarat-i- Darbar-1-[3] Moalla and by a valuable document[4] discovered by the present writer, as also certain other factors stand in the way of our accepting a long and continued rule of Sāif Khan over Bihar from the year 21st to the year 26th and much less to 1784 which means the year 29th or 1096. And Saif Khan was neither an incompetant man nor misely. He was a capable man and a connoisseur of Arts and literature. He was the author of a book on music, a poet himself, and patron of poets. Of course he was also a hot tempered, carefree, and a Bohemian type of

1 S. A.

2 Stewart's Bengal.

3 Sarkar's mss. The writer feels greatly indebted to his revered Guru, the great historian, for allowing him to consult his manuscripts at his residence in Calcutta in December last.

4 This and some other precious old papers are in possession of Shaikh Nasiruddin Saheb of Jaruha in Hajipur. Unfortunately, the Shaikh Saheb refused the request of the writer to take notes from many of his documeuts.

5 See M. U. Some of the biographical dictionaries of the Persian poets contain references to, and a few verses from, Saif Khan. The well-known Persian Poet, Ali Sarhindi, bemoans the sad death of Saif Khan. The Persian Scholar-administrator Mir Muiz Musvi, Fitrat wrote a number of letters to Saif Khan which have come down to us.

a man, who often fell from[1] office or chose a life of retirement but was very soon after taken into his favour by the Emperor and restored to his ranks and offices because of his loyalty, worth and services. There is absolutely no indication anywhere, however, that he lost his job in Bihar because of his inefficiency Neither Mustaid Khan Saqi nor Shahnawaz Khan say anything as to when and why he was transferred to Allahabad. From the list of the Subedars of Allahabad given in Dasturul-[2] Amal of O. P. L. it appears that Himmat Khan, son of Islam Khan, was appointed to that province in the 20th year while Saif Khan, son of Tarbiat Khan, was sent as its Governor in the 27th year of the reign, and on his death,* in the 28th year, Mohtasham Khan, son of Sheikh Mir, took his place. Mustaid[3] Khan mentions Himmat Khan as the Subedar of Allahabad in the year 23rd and says that he was exalted to the office of the 1st Bakshi on the 10th Shawwal, year 24th, or 25th October 1680. That the list given in Dasturul-Amal is incomplete is obvious and that the information about Saif Khan's appointment to Allahabad in the year 27th or 1094 is also incorrect , is quite evident from the clear reference in the same news item of the Akhbarat, to both Saif Khan, Subedar of Allahabad, and Saif Khan, Subedar of Bihar, the revenue of whose provinces were called [4] up in Shawwal, year 25th, 1092 or October 1681. Though there is no mention of it anywhere, certain evidences at our disposal lead us to the conclusion that Saif Khan must have been recalled from Bihar at the end of the year 23rd[5] or early in the year 24th and made to replace Himmat Khan in Allahabad, his place being taken in Bihar at about the same time by Saif Khan, son of Islam Khan Mashhadi.

1 M. A; M. U.

2 See the notes on this ms. in P. I. H. R. C. S. Poona

3 M. A. Kujhwa Ms.

4 Akhbarats.

5 Bhimsen, the author of Dilkusha (a complete and old copy of which bearing the seal of the owner, Diwan Nasir Ali, dated 1213 belongs to Kujhwa, the writer's village in Saran), mentions Safi Khan, son of Islam Khan, as the Subedar of district Patna in the year 23rd of the year.

(*To be Continued*)